1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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the abdomen, and to this end her mother continues to press it. She is given a little soup, prepared from dry corn, if she wants it. This procedure is repeated on the three subsequent nights. Her husband, too, bathes four times. Sometimes delivery is difficult, labor lasting three days or even four. Then everyone is told to come and advise what course to take. A woman who has a good delivery returns to her tasks after one night; if it has been difficult she can work after four days. Her husband, however, is not prohibited from working. 844 846

Twin births are rare and multiple births have never been heard of. Monsters are unknown. Three instances of twin births were recalled by my old informant: Pakádagó'ovà, now a man of sixty; twin sisters in the past generation; and a pair now dead, were born to a young woman.[1] 845

Twins (*huwéglidjà*) differ from other children only in the sympathetic bond that unites them. If one sickens and dies, the other will also.[2] Pakádagó'ovà's twin sister was destroyed at birth; wrapped in a blanket and buried. To indicate the efficacy of the custom, my informant pointed out that the survivor has lived to be an old man. In this case he did not know which twin was born first, nor why the girl was selected. It is believed that twins are due to the circumstance that the pregnant woman, before the foetus is well-developed, lies first on one side, then turns quickly on the other, thus splitting the "fluid" in two parts. Intercourse during pregnancy does not cause this, yet such relations are improper. [843]

The old women attendants mould the head and face of the new-born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, pinch up the bridge of the nose, pull down the ears, press up the hard palate, and rub the thumb along the gums. They repeat this whenever the baby is washed, straightening the body and limbs, and unclenching the fists. No intentional deformation is practised. Occipital flattening occurs but rarely, and that little is moderate and presumably accidental.[3] [844] 856 [304]

Contraceptive devices are unknown. Some women are barren (*pĭk'ĭgĭθdaĭdàdj*, barren woman—used contemptuously): it is not known why. One does not pray for children, but a young girl who is barren may drink a decoction of ground abalone shell in water. The shell (*hŏlkaĭ'ŏ'pd*) is obtained through the Mohave. The lines on it represent the ocean waves. 842 [439]

[1] The ratio of twin births among whites is 1:89.1 or 93.1 (Zelany, 262). If the death rate for twins is so greater than for others, we would expect to find only one or two living in a population of 176. [163]
[2] A Paviotso belief (Lowie, (i), 295).
[3] Hrdlička, (f), 63 records one instance among twenty-five individuals.

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The baby's first

854 [852] [827] thin hair is sometimes clipped off and tied in cloth in little bundles which are swung from the hoop. This is so that the hair will grow thick; if these were thrown away the hair would not grow. When the end of the [846] umbilical cord drops off, it is similarly wrapped and hung on the hoop. [732] If it is lost or thrown away the child will grow up idiotic. When at last the child can walk, the dry cord is ground to a powder which is smeared 856 longitudinally around his body from head to crotch and up the back to the head. This is done so that the cord will not be lost, i.e., it is returned to his body so that he will always have it. Mothers object somewhat to [531] selling these articles with the cradle. The ornamentation of the cradle does not differ for boy or girl.

262 853 The parents of infants must exercise a number of precautions. The new mother must eat only corn soup in order to have a free flow of milk. Corn or bean mush is far too mealy. Similarly salt will dry up the flow; for salt on the ground makes it hard. And if her husband eats meat the woman will be harmed just as though she had partaken. Although 262 mountain lion flesh is sometimes eaten, it cannot be eaten or even touched [753] by those who have babes in arms, for the latter will pine, their eyes sink in, their bellies ache, and diarrhoea ensues. This also applies to the flesh of a deer slain by a mountain lion. The parents of crawling children do [856] not kill snakes for fear that the child will resemble the snake, i.e., not be strong enough to walk at the proper time. Infants are not permitted to [753] eat salt; it would cause white sores on the tongue.

854 No special prayers are offered for the growth of a child, nor is any reason assigned for the growing process, it is so "just because the child suckles and eats." A fretful nursing infant is given an adult's finger to suck. Weaning is begun when the child can walk a few steps unsupported; 862 when it runs alone, the process is ended. During this period the child is given a little of everything others eat (and it includes a vast array of indigestible foods!) for there are no special foods for weaning.

Names

551 Havasupai names are freely used in address or reference: they have no special emotional or religious significance. They are even told to strangers without much hesitation. This seems to be a corollary both of their insignificant character, for they are mostly nicknames or meaningless words, and of their being labels casually given by others rather than names assumed. Undoubtedly this common use of names accounts in [601] part for the imperfect usage of relationship terms, to which I have referred. They do not like to name the dead, relatives or others, but their

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There are several customary positions for sitting women. They usually sit on their crossed legs, the feet turned almost instep down (they kneel, cross ankles, and sit on their calves.) Or they kneel on one knee, then sit with that leg doubled under them, or the legs may be stretched straight forward, ankles crossed, when the back is against a support, or they may sit Turk fashion, the legs drawn up and crossed. The dress is pulled sharply back between the legs when sitting to avoid exposure. 516

Men's sitting positions are much more variable. Perhaps the commonest is similar to the women's usual mode. They also cross the legs Turk fashion, or lie half recumbent.[1]

Both sexes carry articles in the hand, never on the head as among the Pueblos. Men carry bulky articles by means of a carrying strap passing over the chest; women in their burden baskets, the strap of which crosses the forehead. 482

Left-handedness is as rare as in a group of normal whites: in 1921, three (two males and a female) were noted in 182 Indians. Should a pregnant woman use her left hand continually, the child will be left-handed. When the parents observe that the child begins to grasp with the left hand, they remonstrate and tie that arm across his abdomen. But this is no cure; he cries and the hand is freed. The right hand, literally "good hand" (*sŏlgàhánà*) is so called because it can be used at will. It is wrong to shake hands, or to hand an object to another, with the left. People feel uneasy; say it is not a good way. A handshake, using the left, is no confirmation of an agreement or assurance of friendship; it may cover deceit. 516 827 856 576

Gestures are not common. The lips are protruded to point out an object, but the extension of the lips and the frequency of their use is never as great as at Zuñi.[2] In pointing or describing a circuit at a distance, the loosely clenched hands are held as in shooting a bow, the right hand near the right shoulder, elbow raised outward, the left arm nearly at full length and slightly to the left of the body. Both hands then describe the arc together. 201 [171]

To signify, "all gone," "all washed away," the right palm is brushed slowly but forcefully forward on the upturned left palm and then up forward.

The gesture used to describe an arrow shot, as in a tale, is not the same as the actual release. The hands are put in position as in shooting

[1] Neither men nor women cross the knees when seated on chairs, etc., nor do they squat on their heels. The arms are not characteristically held akimbo, as are those of African natives. The toes are never used to assist in working.

[2] The Southern Ute also use the lips in pointing (Lowie, 6), 293.) [171]

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so she must have remembered, the last few weeks before the baby came, to use a stick, not her fingers, to scratch her body. Somehow, she must have avoided hearing the cry of certain wild animals or the creature's spirit would have entered her child, causing it harm. There were other restrictions, but there in that close room I couldn't recall them, neither could I imagine this carefree young mother keeping them in mind.

The baby slept quietly, evidently feeling no pain from her recently pierced ears. According to tribal custom, the grandmother had pierced the ears in several places with a sharp thorn, inserting a thread to keep the wounds open, and rubbing in deer fat to prevent infection. When the little girl was old enough those ears would dangle bright strings of beads, numerous silver ornaments, or bright pieces of wood.

She was such a cunning little thing that I was relieved to learn she was not a twin. There was an old superstition that the souls of twins were in such close sympathy that whatever happened to one must, of necessity, happen to the other. Thus, if one suffered an accident, sickness or death, the other could not escape the same fate. For this reason, one twin was sometimes destroyed at birth. If the grandmother still clung to this superstition, and there had been a twin brother, it would have been her duty to dispose of the girl in order to free the boy of the dual handicap. For among a primitive people, even though men outnumbered the women, the girl would have stood small chance.

A cradleboard, padded with soft cloths, leaned against the wall. The grandmother laid it across her lap, put a blanket on it, then arranged the baby, hands snugly at its sides, body and legs straight. Wrapping the blanket about the infant, she bound her firmly in place. When strong enough to crawl, the child would be released from this confinement and allowed to propel herself about in the manner of all normal children, until she learned to walk. And this stage of development would put to the test the parents' observance of still another superstition. If either had killed a snake in recent months, their baby might be doomed to

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crawl, lacking the strength to stand erect and walk. When killed, a snake loses its spirit. Where else can it go but into the child? However, this baby's legs showed no signs of weakness.

Childhood days would be pleasant for this little girl. There was no "nap time" nor "meal time" for Havasupai children. They played until they tumbled over asleep, awakened when they felt like it. If they were not around when the pot of stew was taken from the fire, they filled their stomachs when they came home.

Children and grownups played together, and the stream was their playground. The little folks darted through the water as guiltless of clothing and as agile as small brown fish. The women frolicked, laughing and screaming, somewhat hindered by their long underslips, but missing none of the fun, while the men, enjoying more freedom in this sport as in other activities, wore only loincloths. They loved nothing better than to take a burro into a deep pool, piling children on his back until they submerged him to his nose. They would tip him over backward, holding him under much too long for his comfort, shouting with laughter when he came up sucking air into his lungs noisily and painfully. Yet the burro seemed to enjoy these bouts, entering the water willingly if not eagerly.

The intelligence used by the parents in training their children would set a worthy example for any race. A mother did not scold. Instead she taught her small daughter to play grownup, to weave baskets, sweep the floor, carry water and make fiber brooms. This training prepared the child to care for a home of her own. But, wisely, this training went beyond material things, for the little girl was also taught to be kind to her husband's people. This early training was responsible, I think, for the harmony with which those related by marriage worked and played together.

Young boys must rise while it was "little light" and run swiftly toward the rising sun. This prepared them for the hunt and made them swift in capturing the enemy. They were indoctrinated in the ritual of the hunt which involved many superstitions and taboos. To ensure success, prayers must be offered at smokes or hunting

CHAPTER II

INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD

Infancy

842

Children of both sexes are desired by the Havasupai. A man usually wants a boy to help him eventually in his work, but if the baby is a girl, the mother is glad that she can look forward to the assistance of a daughter. It is said that after a baby is a few weeks old the parents "don't care what kind it is." Men usually pay a little more attention to an infant boy than they do to a girl, and this difference increases as a child grows older and becomes more closely associated with the parent of the same sex in all sex-defined activities.

Birth Customs

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At birth a baby is received on a blanket placed beneath his mother for this purpose. One of the women assisting with the birth, usually the baby's maternal grandmother or another close relative, ties the umbilical cord 1 to 1 1/2 in. from his body before severing the cord. After bathing the infant in warm yucca suds, an attendant dusts his navel with powered red ocher, obtained in lumps from a secret place and ground on a metate. (In summer, a baby's entire body is frequently rubbed with powdered red ocher to prevent prickly heat.) [515] [278] [854]

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To insure that a baby's face and head will be well formed, and that his back and limbs will grow straight, an attendant deftly pretends to shape his face, head, and body with her fingertips. She lightly smoothes the brow and cheeks, points the chin, heightens the bridge of the nose, lengthens the ear lobes, raises the hard palate, and pinches the gums. She rounds the head with special attention to reshaping any temporary deformity of the skull resulting from the birth process, although no pressure is applied. With long strokes, she straightens the back, the arms, and the legs. The baby's face and body then may be colored with red ocher powder or with a paste, formerly a mixture of red ocher and deer fat, but now a compound of red ocher and any available grease, such as lard or cold cream. [854] [302] [386]

Use of the Cradleboard

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A cradleboard is made ahead of time by a female relative of the baby's mother or father, preferably his maternal grandmother. If neither parent has a close relative among the few remaining skilled weavers in the Havasupai tribe, the cradleboard is obtained by trade or purchase from one of these weavers. [302] [438]

854 As soon as the baby is old enough to play with objects fastened to the cradle hood, his hands are released for brief periods. When the mother wants the infant to sleep, she binds his arms inside the blanket so that he cannot wake himself with random hand movements. Each time the mother [856] removes the baby from the cradle (or more likely, whenever she happens to think of it) she molds his legs to make them straight. When a baby cries, he is fed or changed, or he is removed from the cradle for a short time. The mother may carry the baby in her arms, hold him close to her body [827] and tickle or caress him. When a baby soils himself, his stool is wrapped in something and placed high in a tree. If the stool is stepped on or mashed, [165] the baby will develop diarrhea. Parents have reason to dread diarrhea, for this is probably the most common cause of infant illness and death.

Before scissors were available, a baby's fingernails and toenails were pared by taking hold of the nail at one side of the finger or toe and peeling it [826] across to the other side. Nail trimmings are placed on the baby's forehead in order that a girl may always have a large tray full of seeds for winnowing, or, in accordance with the more common present day belief, that she may become a good housewife. The significance of this practice for a boy is that he may learn to shoot straight and thus obtain many buckskins for tanning.

512 The mother's time is spent almost entirely out-of-doors in good
854 weather. The family eats, carries on its daily activities, and may sleep, in the shelter of a brush arbor or under the shade of a tree. At first, the infant's cradle is propped upright near his mother. Adults and older children of the nuclear or extended families and frequent camp visitors speak to the baby, fondle him, or pick up his cradle, but the child spends much of his time apparently unnoticed by others. Although a baby receives frequent attention, he is not made the focus of everyone's undivided interest.

854 A mother keeps her baby near her much of the time. If the infant is fretful, the mother holds him with his cradle lying across her knees while she sits on the ground with one leg extended and the other folded sidewise beneath it. By raising and lowering her bent knee, she moves the cradle rhythmically up and down. To calm the baby, she may sing a lullaby which, in translation, entreats:

[533] "Tra-la, la-la, la-la
Go to sleep little baby;
Tra-la, la-la, la-la
Your mother is cooking (working?)"

A well baby seldom cries, exhibiting, as a rule, a placid countenance and a generally complacent attitude. During his early months, an infant's cries for food or attention are usually gratified before a high pitch of emotional stress is reached. However, if the mother is busy and no one is available to help, the baby is permitted to cry until the mother has time to

pick him up. By the time a baby is able to crawl to his mother, he will tug at her clothing when he wants to be fed. The accustomed expression of a contented baby as he plays alone, or is carried in a group of older children, is solemn, but the infant learns early to smile or laugh in response to other individuals. A baby or a young child, alone or in a group, plays quietly, seemingly reflecting the calm that prevails in the usual camp situation. The strident clamor of voice and the excited, helter-skelter pace of activity characteristic in the group play of white American children is conspicuously absent even among older Havasupai children. 854 854 857 152

Formerly, a mother took her baby along when she picked peaches or did other work not far from home. A conical burden basket was anchored to her back by a tumpline across her forehead or shoulders. With the baby on his cradle, she placed it in the burden basket facing away from her. The mother held the cradle upright with one hand extended over her shoulder. On the return trip, with the loaded burden basket on her back, she carried the baby's cradle in her arms. If the mother went away for a full day to gather wild foods, she usually left the baby at home with his father, grandmother, or older siblings. He was fed peach juice during her absence. The baby was never left alone. 854 [482]

At night an infant sleeps on his cradle near the mother, in his parents' bed, or on a separate bed within reach of the mother's hand. The earlier custom was to keep the baby in the cradleboard day and night, but babies are now removed from the cradle at frequent intervals. An infant may share his parents' bed until he is about a year old.

One mother summed up the use of the cradleboard thus:

"I put my baby in the cradle so he won't be spoiled by being held all the time. The cradle makes his body grow straight, and a cradleboard is easy to handle without tiring the mother or the baby. The baby can be taken anywhere without waking him, and he likes the cradle because it feels like someone is holding him. After my oldest boy could walk, he would bring his cradle to me and want to be in it. He was too tall then, but I would tie it on his back, and we all laughed while he walked around because he looked so funny. We said he looked like a beetle that way, but he didn't care. He just wanted the cradle." [856]

When a baby sucks his hands, they are laced inside the cradle, or moved away from his mouth, but nothing distasteful is put on them. It is said that hand-sucking is discouraged because the baby might carry some object to his mouth and choke to death. If an infant seems inclined toward lefthandedness, his left hand is tied inside the cradle while his right hand remains free. "The people in the old times didn't want their children to be left-handed, but some of them turned out like that anyway." Improvised toys such as dewclaw rattles (Spier 1928, 303), wooden beads, or a small spoon made from a mountain sheep's horn formerly were tied to the cradle 854 856 [826] 524 177

The blisters are treated
by sprinkling on them a mixture of red ocher and dried cottontail or jack rabbit tongue ground on a metate. 757

Learning to Walk

A child is encouraged to walk by being held upright and moved forward so that his feet fall into steps. As soon as he thrusts a foot forward by his own volition, he is held up to walk a short distance. The baby may be placed near a low object so he can pull up and stand or walk with support. A few babies walk at nine months, but it is more usual for them to learn at one year or a little later. When a child totters or falls, he should not be laughed at, for this will discourage further attempts. Nevertheless, one of the women who made this statement was observed laughing at her child's faltering steps and saying, "She walks like a cripple." Even after a child walks alone, he is frequently carried by an older sister or his mother. 868 856

Formerly, the baby's first moccasins were put on when he began to walk, but then, as now, young children went barefoot much of the time. [291]

The baby usually makes a gradual transition from the cradle to independent mobility. When the cradle is no longer needed, it may be saved for a later child or it may be thrown away, but it is "not burned, because that would cause barrenness" (Spier 1928, 302). Fragments of discarded cradles may be observed near some of the camps. [842]

Returning the Umbilical Cord

When a child is about one year old or begins to walk, the dried remnant of the umbilical cord is removed from the cradle hood, ground on a metate, and mixed with powdered red ocher and deer fat or a substitute. The umbilical cord is then returned to the child's body by painting a line of the mixture from his hairline down the center of the forehead, nose, chin, and body to the genitals and up the back to the base of the skull. A line is also drawn from the tip of the third finger, up the arms to the shoulders and across the chest. Another line extends from the armpits down the sides of the body and the legs, and up the inner surface of the legs to the crotch. This act is performed to insure good behavior throughout the individual's life. If the umbilical cord has been lost, or if this ritual act is omitted, the child may be unruly, or may grow up forgetful and prone to lose things. 852 846 [302]

Toilet Training

Toilet training is a leisurely process accompanied by no harsh measures. It usually begins between 12 and 15 months, depending upon the mother's inclination. The toilet area for adults and older children is a short distance from camp among trees or brush, but a young child may use the yard, especially in the early morning. A mother assists the infant by stooping or squatting, with her arms supporting the baby in a sitting posture, 863 514 [516]

881 343 a few tasks for her mother, she retires to this bed, sitting or lying on it most of the time during four days and nights. The rocks stay hot overnight and are reheated each morning. At her mother's bidding, a girl rises frequently during the day to carry wood or water, or to do some other work so that she will not become a lazy wife.

881 887 869 In former times, an old woman, often a girl's grandmother, sat beside her throughout the night singing and talking to keep the girl awake. "Don't be lazy," the old woman admonished. "When you marry, work hard and be a good wife and mother." At present, a girl is permitted to sleep part of the night.

Taboos

881 262 [263] During this and subsequent menstrual periods, a girl refrains from eating meat, which would cause her face to wrinkle and her teeth to wear out prematurely. Although Spier (1928, 326) states that salt is not taboo, present informants say it must be used very sparingly. Otherwise, a girl while menstruating may eat much the same as usual, except that soft foods and liquids are preferable for her, and she should eat small amounts. Some foods considered appropriate in former times were corn mush, silĕ (unidentified) mush, black sunflower seed paste, opuntia pears, and dried soapweed pears.

881 [237] [531] Scratching with the fingernails would leave raised marks or scars on the skin, so girls formerly used a deer tibia painted with red, black, and white designs, said to be without significance. Or she might make use of any stick close at hand. At the present time, sticks appear to be used exclusively. These are undecorated. In 1951, a Havasupai girl, while visiting an abandoned storage cist with this investigator, found a stick tucked into a crack under an overhanging rock. The stick, identified without prompting as a puberty scratching stick, was about 6 in. long, 1/2 in. wide, and 1/4 in. thick. It was undecorated and unsmoothed except for one slightly rounded end which probably had been abraded with a stone. The only stick observed in use, however, was any one which happened to be at hand.

[833] [842] [841] Sexual intercourse is prohibited during menstruation. As one informant phrased it, if this taboo is broken "you will be pregnant right there." Infraction would result in this penalty for either premarital or postmarital intercourse during menstruation, and for intercourse during the menstrual flow following childbirth.

[856] [826] If a girl at puberty is thin, a fat woman "stands on the girl's back" so she too will become attractively plump. In practice, a fat woman places one foot on a girl's back, exerting but little pressure. In one instance a girl's father is known to have performed this role.

302 are discovered on a child.

177 302 [531] Face painting described by Spier (1928, 194-6), and formerly executed with red, black, sienna, or white paint in designs composed of lines, dots, or both, is no longer practiced. While women now occasionally paint their faces, they use red ocher mixed with a cosmetic cream, which is blended lightly in a wide band across the cheeks and bridge of the nose, and may also be applied to the forehead. The use of commercial cosmetics has largely replaced face painting in the original manner. Lipstick is common, while rouge, various creams, lotion, and face powder are in less general use.

304 Face tattooing is no longer practiced, but young people sometimes tattoo their hands or arms, the most popular decoration being a set of initials, probably belonging to a sweetheart. These are small in size, and one person seldom wears more than one or two sets. An informant, in describing the tattooing process, stated that leaves of the mesquite tree are mashed on a metate, moistened with water, and mixed with charcoal to form a paste. Spier (1928, 197) mentions only the use of ground charcoal.

826 832 [578] [516] Traditionally, to be attractive, a woman should be plump in body, legs and arms. Fat legs are considered essential to beauty. Young men say of a girl, "Her body is fat enough, but look at her legs--they're skinny." Or a boy who wishes to insult a girl, tells her she has skinny legs. Women are careful to avoid sitting with their legs extended straight in front of them, because this position permits the calves to hang down and would cause the legs to become too thin. This position is particularly avoided following childbirth.

[177] In recent years, under influence of beauty standards of the white culture, a few of the younger Havasupai women wish to remain slender; although there appears to be little or no effort made to lose weight, some women are careful not to gain it.

846 292 A Havasupai woman customarily wears a broad Hopi belt, or a band of other material, following childbirth to support her abdomen until it returns to normal size. In earlier times a band 2 or 3 in. wide was woven from juniper bark. An informant remarked that the women of a neighboring tribe don't do this "and that's why their bellies look like rubber."

302 856 [177] In addition to obervance of certain menstrual and childbirth taboos said to keep a woman youthful and attractive, a Havasupai woman should wash her face daily in cold water, rubbing the skin outward from the sides of the nose and u[illegible]don the neck, cheeks, and forehead, to prevent wrinkles. This rout[illegible] suspiciously reminiscent of advice given in movie magazines, which[illegible] popular with Havasupai women. However, an informant added: "I think this is true, because S----'s face is so smooth in her eighties, and she always did that. Your people don't know these things, and they start to

wrinkel in their twenties. But look at me, I'm 44 and hardly have any wrinkles. Another thing, during the first four days of your monthly, don't smile very much, because it pulls your face in wrinkles and will leave lines there. We already told you not to eat meat or scratch with your nails at that time, and you shouldn't smoke for those four days. The same rules are for your husband and will keep him young too if he does everything right. We never told your people these things, so they just get old real soon. We're telling you because we want you to keep young like us. These things will make you look real young till in your fifties or sixties."

302 856 [841]

The method of washing the face was not checked with older informants but was verified by several of middle age. It is interesting that this informant mentioned refraining from smiling, but neglected any mention of frowning. The Havasupai characteristically are a smiling people. A frown is seldom seen, and the face in repose customarily wears a placid expression.

302 [181] [142]

The Havasupai are relatively fastidious about personal cleanliness of their bodies and clothing from childhood until, perhaps, middle age. Families customarily bathe together daily in the creek during warm weather. Although middle-aged or old persons bathe less frequently, they go to a shallow place in the creek or bathe in a nearby irrigation ditch, modestly remaining partly clothed during the process. Creek bathing is believed to bring a rheumatic attack if the water is too cold. In winter, tub or sponge baths are taken, but less frequently. Personal cleanliness probably was emphasized less during winter plateau residence prior to permanent canyon residence and the ready availability of the water of Havasu Creek, which facilitates bathing.

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Sexual Attitudes and Premarital Experiences

The assertion that former generations refrained from premarital sexual relations appears to be a statement of the cultural ideal rather than fact. Informants usually prefaced a discussion of the subject with this generalization, but subsequent explanations and case descriptions revealed that, although premarital sexual license may have been more restricted than at present, it was nevertheless quite general.

836

Teaching Modesty and Reticence

Although children of both sexes played together in early childhood, small girls were warned to seek privacy for excretory purposes and to avoid exposing their genitals in the presence of boys. Very young siblings of opposite sex now visit the toilet area together, and an older sister frequently has the obligation of attending a brother too young to take care of himself.

964 834

Small girls traditionally were cautioned to beware of sexual advances by older boys. In 1952, the mother of a four-year-old girl remarked that